1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

low the Biblical statement was painted the Mapuche word *ñillatuin* ("let us pray").[21] A few men, including Coigue's cacique, Juan Choquilaf Malikyo, were present, and Mr. Donaldson spoke briefly in Spanish on the significance of the cross. The party then proceeded to the prayer ground, carrying along the cross and a large Chilean flag.

The *ñillatun* field was simply part of an open meadow, along the western edge of which a few ramadas had been built of leaves and branches (Pl. XIII, Fig. 2). At some distance from the shelters a deep hole was dug into which the cross was implanted with the inscription facing west. Before the hole was filled several coins and some *chicha* were put in. Then the Chilean flag was placed close by (Pl. XI, Fig. 1), together with branches of cinnamon, apple, *maki*,[22] and perhaps other trees. Near at hand a ram was tied to a short stake. This collection of objects was to be the focal point of the ceremony and served as an altar. A small number of people was present, some of whom promptly placed at the foot of the altar pottery jars of *chicha* and *mudai*. Thereafter, any thirsty person drank from one of the vessels and put it back. Whenever a dog approached it was driven off, as dogs represent evil spirits and are particularly repugnant to *machis* while professionally engaged.

When the cross was in position, its donor, Chihuaicura, the cacique of Coigue, and one or two other men, bared their heads and knelt on the ground, facing east (Pl. XII, Fig. 1). While they prayed, other men with a plow and a yoke of oxen were cutting light furrows to delimit a small hockey field between the altar and the ramadas. Scarcely had they finished, when some one fetched a hard rubber ball, and half a dozen men produced sticks and engaged in a sort of impromptu match for a few minutes. The sticks were then stacked against the altar.

At five o'clock, just as the sun began to set, the dedication

[21] One should not jump to conclusions because of the obvious Christian influence on the Coigue *ñillatun*, for wooden crosses mark many old prayer grounds and cemeteries. Only a small minority of the participants in the Coigue celebration were even nominal Christians. See footnote 18.

[22] Identified in Augusta (1916, I: 85) as Mapuche *kulüñ* (*Berberis buxifolia* Lam.; family Berberidaceae).

ASSEMBLY SONGS

Woman's Counterreply

feula anai koñi
tami un meu
kimael ayüpen
fei-ula nay ñi piuke
femäl mi kimei
rume ayüeyu ula.

Free translation.—Just now, dear cousin (husband), I have heard what I wanted to hear from your own lips. Now my heart is restored to its proper place. If you do what is right, I shall love you more than ever.

Woman's Song No. 4

cod-cod peuma
küme peuman
fei neu felen
ñi rumue küme füta.

Free translation.—I dreamed of a deer. It was a good omen, and that is why I find myself with my lovely husband.

Interpretation.—To dream of a deer is particularly auspicious. The deer is regarded as a gentle and good animal that never hurts anyone and never spoils or destroys anything. When a wife sings in this fashion, all the auditors congratulate the happy couple, who are in need neither of advice nor guidance.

Woman's Song No. 5[18]

rumel re ko peuman
famguechi ñi konpayam
ko engu pod fotra kei
fei neu dungu ka lei.

Free translation.—I always dreamed only of clear water. That is how I thought things were going to be, but water and

[18]This song and the next two were termed piñmal kaun ("ironic" or "sarcastic") by Collío. According to him, songs of this type comprise an important form of social control among the Mapuche. Sometimes, it is the only way in which conduct can be regulated. For example, a man who beats his wife may be induced to stop if people are sarcastic to him.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

disease by bodily contact to a lamb, dog, or chicken, and then killing the animal; using bones and stones, especially perforated stone club-heads (Hounse, 1939, pp. 95–97), as talismans; depositing offerings in certain cupped rocks (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 211–16); dissolving benoars (probably scrapings) in water and having horses drink the mixture to make them swift in battle; and passing feathers of certain birds over the body and feet of horses for the same purpose (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:115); using hairs or bits of clothing of a person to harm him (Moesbach, 1936, p. 369). (For fuller details, see Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 259–61; 1913, pp. 266–69, 272–73, and passim in ch. 8.)

(e) *Ritual patterns.*—Some of the more outstanding ones were the following: Aspersions with blood or chicha; the killing of llamas, later of sheep, with extraction of the heart and sucking of blood from same; the use of *Drimys winteri* as the sacred tree; four as the sacred number; ritual recognition of the four cardinal points; and fumigations with tobacco smoke.

(f) *Divination.*—Certain forms of divination were used, such as with chicha (Latcham, 1922 b, pp. 516–17) and with drops of water placed on stone ax heads (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:100), but divination was not, it seems, very highly elaborated. (See also under Shamanism, p. 750.)

(g) *Omens.*—Dreams figured largely in omen beliefs. A fox bark at night, a miro (*Agriornis lividus livida*) bird on the hut, or the cry of certain nocturnal birds over the hut were omens of sickness and death. Owls were birds of evil augury. A fire emitting many sparks or crackling as if the wood were green, and a loika (*Trupialis* sp.) bird singing at the hut door, were signs of guests to come. Certain carnivorous birds following an army or a fox passing near or through the army on march on the left side were bad omens. Rosales (1877–78, 1:165; cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 65) states that twitches felt in the eyelids or the arms were interpreted as omens—a common North American Indian belief, found widely in other parts of the world. (For further details on omens, cf.: Olivares, 1864, pp. 52–53; Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 313–16, including data on dreams and nightmares; 1913, pp. 281–83; Hounse, 1939, pp. 114–15.)

(h) *Taboos.*—Guevara Silva (1908, pp. 226–30; 1929, 2:155–66) lists many taboos; some of these are purely social prohibitions; others may be more of the "negative magic" order. To give just three examples: Snakes were not to be trod upon; good beasts and birds were not to be maltreated or insulted; rotten eggs were not to be put in gardens lest the harvest turn out badly.

(i) *Oaths.*—Both assertory and promissory verbal oaths were common, and oaths were recorded from earliest post-Hispanic times. The person swore by Eponamón (Ercilla, 1910, p. xix), by the sun (Cox, 1863, p. 98; Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 61–62; Milanesio, 1898, p. 41),

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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853 strong constitution. An instance was related in which one of twin girls refused to nurse from its mother, and so the mother's sister, who was nursing a child at the time, nursed it for a month; after this the baby was taken back to its home and fed cow's milk, "but it never seemed to fit into its home and so later the grandmother took it to her home and reared it." A nursing mother was given no herbal decoction to increase the milk flow, but she ate much nourishing food, such as chicken and mutton. She avoided beef, since that was thought to make her sick.

A child was nursed whenever it became restless, whimpered, or indicated that it was hungry. During one 2-hour interview, a 1½-year-old child nursed about every 10 minutes. It did so standing at the side of its mother (my informant) who was seated on the ground, resting in its mother's arms, or squatting in her lap. Successive nursings were from different breasts. In general, a child was probably not nursed after it was two years old. "Nursing a baby longer than two years makes it mean," said a 60-year-old woman.

One informant, now 60 years old, made certain, when she had a nursing child, that there was no snake in the place. "We believe that 825 if there is a snake around it will come at night to where a mother will be nursing her child. Should the mother inadvertently fall asleep, the snake will push the baby from the breast, put its tail into the baby's mouth, and itself suck the milk from the mother."

When the child is capable of holding something, usually when 3 or 4 months old, it is given a piece of meat—raw, cooked, broiled, or roasted—from which to suck the essence. If adults were having apoll (sheep lung filled with chili, salt, and coagulated blood; p. 363), the child was given a piece of it to suck. Today a 4-month-old child is given cow's milk thinned with water, and thin soups. I saw a young mother give her child of that age cow's milk in which she had cooked oatmeal bought at a store.

When a mother knew that the child could swallow foods thicker than soup, probably when 6 months old, she masticated meat for it. "This is still done today. I saw a mother recently chew araucaria nuts and give them to her child." The child's first solid food—a favorite—was cooked meat of rhea. It was also given mutton, lamb, and fowl, but never beef, which was thought to make the child sick. As soon as a child has its teeth, it is expected to eat all foods eaten by adults.

862 Children were generally weaned between the ages of one and two years. Some mothers weaned a child gradually by accustoming it to food other than mother's milk; some did it abruptly. "I usually

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Andes, and also in high or low valleys; in either there are differentiating factors. Kolupan, for example, knew the weather forecast for November for the specific area of San Martín de los Andes, in which he lived: a windy day followed by showers at night brought a clear day; during any clear night frost could be expected; on nights when the stars twinkle "like the morning sun on hoarfrost on a moving twig," and all the stars are bright, frost is certain to come. Formerly, rain followed by a thunderstorm could be expected when the people heard the crying of Olul (cf. pp. 321-322). "Those were the days when we still heard Olul." A 60-year-old informant had been told by her grandfather, when she was still a child, that from the mountainside on which he lived he could see a tree in Lake Lacar. He knew that if the tree stood erect, fair weather would prevail; if it swayed, windy weather or snow was in the offing. 821

In general, however, a very red moon forecasts hot weather; black clouds, rain; white clouds, snow and cold. A rainbow in line with the Cordillera—that is, in the west—forecasts bad weather; opposite the Cordillera, good weather.

NATURAL PHENOMENA

A rainbow, as stated above, forecasts weather, depending on its position. An eclipse of the moon or the sun predicts war, hunger, and want, usually in a distant country. Kolupan observed that the last three wars had each been predicted by an eclipse of the sun. "The Germans made war after the first and second eclipse," he noted, "and the Russians, after the third one—that is, the war that is now [1951] going on in Asia."

No information was obtained regarding the sun (except its eclipse) other than that it is man's friend. "All animals, too, like the sun; even the snake does so. A snake, if killed, will not die until sundown; it will take a last look at the sun, just as it sets, and die." [825]

Both morning and evening stars were called wanal'en by all informants except Kolupan. Kolupan insisted that the evening star was known by the same name as dusk (yépún), and the morning star by the same name as dawn (wün yelfe). Others agreed, "It is the same star; it is like the sun; it comes and goes."

Constellations identified by informants and sketched are shown in figure 8. They are the guanaco (l'uan); the rhea (choike); the boleadora (lakal); stretched hide (rekəf tralke or rapul tralke); and seven little goats, or hen and chicks (ŋau champio or chawn achawoll). An elongated V was pointed out, but not identified. Kolupan could

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lagoon in the River Negro," said another old man. "I went there one time with others, when I was young, and we brought home sackfuls on horseback. Sacks were of hide then. That was long before there were any trucks in this area." 263 317

In the early days grease was used less frequently than it is today. Any animal fat may be used, but horse grease is a favorite. 262

Eggs of chicken and waterfowl were eaten raw or cooked. If raw, they were either sucked through an opening at one end of the shell or the shell was completely emptied into the mouth at one time. Today, chicken eggs are eaten raw, scrambled, fried in grease, or cooked in an empty rhea eggshell—as many as a dozen chicken eggs can be cooked in such a shell. 252

Rhea eggs were, and are today, scrambled in their shells and then cooked in them. One end of the shell is peeled off, the yolk and white stirred into a mixture with a stick, and salt added to one's taste. The shell is then set close to the edge of the fire, and either the contents stirred with a little sick at intervals or the shell repeatedly turned to insure thorough cooking. "A well-cooked rhea egg is delicious, but it takes a long time to cook one," said an old woman. "When our men return from sheep shearing—they are now shearing them on the estancias—they will bring with them some rhea eggs." She then told the following: "People look for rhea nests today in fenced-in areas on estancias; it is not difficult to find a nest, but it is difficult to get the eggs. There may be as many as 30 eggs in a nest. A nest is about so big [2½ feet in diameter]. Let us say a man is riding around on horseback looking for a nest. If he is not alert, he may come upon one before he knows it. Now, let us say the rhea is off the nest feeding—you know it is the male that hatches the eggs; but the female is always close by. The rhea sees the man on horseback come close to his nest. He will become so angry that he will run at full speed against the man's horse, either throwing the horse down or frightening it into a dangerous runaway. Should it happen that the male bird be on the nest when the rider gets near it, he will kick the eggs in all directions to break them. The male rhea has a bad temper. The only time a person can pick up an egg is when he is on foot and only while the male is a little distance away finding feed for himself." She added that in every nest there is a small unfertilized egg which was laid last. As soon as the eggs are hatched the female takes over. She picks open the unfertilized egg, which by now has rotted, and lets it ooze. Flies soon come to feed on it, and they form the first food of the young rhea. 252 825 [222]

Wild grains used as food in the early days were quinoa and wild 262

• 825

APPENDIX C. MAMMALS, BIRDS, FISHES, AND SHELLFISHES USED BY THE ARAUCANIANS

The names of mammals, birds, fishes, and shellfishes are here recorded in Spanish, followed by the Araucanian names, when known, in parentheses. Scientific names are from Félix José de Augusta's Diccionario Araucano-Español y Español-Araucano, 2 vols., 1916; John M. Cooper's "The Araucanians," in Handbook of South American Indians, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 143, vol. 2, p. 705, 1946; Hans Schmidt's Argentinische Vogelwelt (no date); Perito Francisco Moreno's Viaje a la Patagonia austral . . . 1876-1877, Anales del Museo de la Patagonia, vol. 1, pp. 91, 121-138, 1945; and labeled specimens found in the Museo Nahuel Huapi in Bariloche, Argentina. Dashes (——) indicate that the name could not be obtained.

Mammals

armadillo (kofür) (*Chaetophractus villosus*)
guanaco (l'uan) (*Lama guanicoe*)
huemel or guemal (shunam) (*Hippocamelus bisulcus*)
jabalí (kütrekütre) (——) wild boar
llama (chilihueque or rehueque) (*Lama glama*)
(——) (mara) (*Dolichotis patagonica*) Patagonian hare
pudú (truli or pūdu or pəʃo) (*Pudu pudu* or *Cervus humilis*)
puma (paŋi or trapial) (*Felis concolor*)

Birds

avutarda (——) (*Chloëphaga leucoptera*)
bandurria (raki) (*Theristicus caudatus melanopis* or *Ibis melanopis* or *Theristicus melanopis*)
cernícalo (ŋishem or ūshem) (——)
(——) (chanchito) (——)
(——) (choñchoñ) (——) nocturnal bird
choroy (yawilma) (*Psittacus leptorhynchus*)
chucau (chukau) (*Rhea pennata ?*)
cisne blanco or ganzu (——) (*Coscoroba coscoroba*)
diuca (diuka) (*Diuca diuca diuca*)
emu (ñandú) (*Rhea rothschildi*)
flamingo (pital) (*Phoenicopterus ruber chilensis*)
gallareta (pollolla or pideñ) (*Pardirallus rytirhynchus*)

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jilguero (ʃiwũ or chirif) (*Spinus uropygialis*). Has yellow plumage 825
loica (loika) (*Trupial militaris*) robin
martineta (ʃədu) (*Rhynchotus rufescens*) partridge
perdiz grande (cf. martineta)
picaflor (——) (——) hummingbird
rhea (choike) (*Rhea americana albescens*)
(——) (tinamou) (*Nothoprocta perdicaria*)
tordo (kəreu) (*Molothrus bonariensis*)
tregle (treqəll or kilteu) (*Vanellus chilensis*) Chilean lapwing
zorzal austral (wilki) (*Turdus falklandii magellanicus*)

Fishes

cauque (malche) (*Atherina* sp.)
corbina (kolũkalen) (——). Has tail of coffee color
pejerry (remũ or kauke) (*Patagonia hatcheri* or *Atherinichthys argentinensis*)
peladilla (peliolo or peloilla) (*Haplochiton taeniatus*)
perca (lipəŋ) (*Percichthys trucha*)
puyen (upesh) (*Galaxia maculatus*)
robalo (kudwa) (*Pinguipes chilensis*) haddock
salmon (——) (*Salmo salar sebago*)
sierras (——) (——) sawfish
trucha arco iris (——) (*Salmo gairdneri*)
trucha criolla (cf. perca)
trucha de arroyo (——) (*Salvelinus fontinals*)
trucha marron or trucha europea (——) (*Salmo fario*)
(——) (——) (*Paralichthys* sp.) flatfish
(——) (——) (*Mugil* sp.) mullets
(——) (——) (*Sparus* sp.) porgies
(——) (——) (*Austromenidia regia*) silverfish

Shellfishes

arisos (——) (——)
jaiba (ranũm) (——)
loco (loko) (*Concholepas peruviana*)
macha (macha) (*Mesodesma donacio*)
(——) (manihue) (——)
(——) (piure) (*Piures*) ascideans or sea squirts
(——) (——) (*Mytilus* sp., *Amphidesma* sp., *Tellina* sp., unionids) bivalves
(——) (——) (*Aegla* sp. and *Parastacus* sp.) crustaceans
(——) (——) (*Strongylocentrotus* sp.) sea urchins

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sets of local groups to form an ethnic bastion which continues to stem the thrusts of an antagonistic Chilean society. The Mapuche, in their own words, are "another race." They have their own gods, their own notions of right and wrong, their peculiar symbolism. If they abide by the rules of their society, they are well on their way to insuring their eternal place among the hawks of the sun.

II

The most dramatic aspects of social action involved in the central concept of Mapuche religious morality revolves around the belief that ancestors are sacred and influential spirits whose existence regulates and depends upon human moral conduct. Among the several visible forms assumed by ancestors are "hawks of the sun" (*antüpaiñamko*), a designation used by the Mapuche and employed here to symbolize all ancestral spirits. Hawks of the sun, then, are beneficent ancestor spirits who intervene in the affairs of the living, who are responsible to the living, and, at the same time, who govern human conduct. Mapuche die and become hawks of the sun. In this simple belief is expressed the notion of continuity between the living and the dead on which hinge concepts and practices of a ritual nature that order and sanction human relationships.

"Have you become hawks of the sun?" (*antüpaiñamko ñetuín*). This is a rhetorical question addressed to ancestor spirits. It varies occasionally by the substitution of other birds or insects which are favorably regarded by the Mapuche: "Have you become butterflies?" "Have you become blueflies?" These are questions of the same order as the first, although sometimes used when more specificity is desired in categorizing members of the spirit world. All symbolize the transformation of the recently- and the long-departed ancestral spirits into certain visible creatures of Mapucheland.

Although the dead may assume a diversity of forms in making their presence known to the living, ancestral beatitude is reflected in the assumption of a good form—by noble birds of good omen, by the gorgeous butterfly, by the sonorous and glittering bluefly. In a like manner, evil and suffering are associated with and are symbolized by blackness and terrible,

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Mapuche

Introduction

blood-sucking creatures of the night. Thus is the duality of good and evil expressed.

The problem of how the concept of evil originated among the Mapuche or how it might have changed during the course of the historical era appears insoluble, at least in the framework of a structural-functional analysis of morality; in any case, it is not germane to the thesis of this monograph. One thing is quite clear, however. Sin is laid at the feet of the living who fail to make proper propitiation of ancestral spirits and who break the canons of morality. Sin is the catalyst which activates the forces of evil. The eternal struggle between good and evil, involving all mankind (i. e. all Mapuche), engages the ethereal ancestors and their descendants and is reenacted daily in Mapucheland.

The struggle between good and evil forces is recounted and analyzed around the seemingly eternal hearthfire. It is dramatized during the periodic assemblages of the ritual congregation. It is the acknowledged be-all and end-all of the thought and activity of shamans (*machi*) and sorcerer-witches (*kalku*). It is signalized by the cry of nightbirds, by the wavering luminosity of *anchimallen*, and by a glimpse of the black-shrouded and saber-toothed *witranalwe*—contaminated, blood-thirsty spirits which roam the earth after dark in search of victims. The supernatural world encompasses that of the living. One is instructed to heed the line between good and evil, and one is shown where it lies. Transgression of this line is fostered by *kalku*, the embodiment of evil. The good life (health in morality) is guaranteed, at least on balance, by the good offices of the *machi* and the ritual priest (*füllatufe*).

The Mapuche world revolves on the moral axis between the living and the dead. The spirits of the dead either enjoy the halcyon shadow world where they exist in tranquility or, if improperly cared for and displeased, return to lurk among the living. The aloofness of the hawk suggests ancestral satisfaction. The nocturnal meanderings of various ugly nonhuman forms and distorted wraiths suggest ancestral discomfiture and dissatisfaction—a state exploited by evil *kalku* who inhabit the world of man. Propitiation of ancestral spirits wards off specific hazards and mitigates general supernatural danger. There are pitfalls, but there are also ways of avoiding them. The Mapuche

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death, especially if the present life has become difficult. Young people, however, do not yield easily to "fate," as an old person might. Resistance to the summoning spirit can take several forms.

One method, already mentioned, is the staging of *amulpellun*, an encirclement of the house by riders who try to drive away the spirit. If the spirit shows no signs of having departed, it is felt that it might have been captured by a *kalku*. Resort is then made to the services of a *machi*, who grapples with the forces of evil in order to rescue the spirit before it is itself converted into a malevolent being, a ghost. If the case is considered hopeless, if it is felt that the spirit is irrevocably in the clutches of a *kalku*, the members of the household again consult a *machi* who advises them about the performance of certain magical acts which will protect them. There ensues a period of uneasiness, until one of the members of the household actually sickens and dies or until dreams and other omens indicate that the danger has passed. An infallible omen is the flight of birds—hawks of the sun—at the propitious moment, and in one or another special direction. If a troubled person seeks out a sign—usually in the wilderness, called the *monte*—from ancestral spirits, these may appear to him in the form of hawks of the sun. If, then, the hawk(s) describes a number of circles to the right of the supplicant, good fortune is presaged. If the bird circles to the left, the dream experience is reinforced or the presence of the ancestral spirit is interpreted as a sign of certain misfortune.

One might also go to the graves of his ancestors to make a small offering to their spirits and to *ñenechen*. This may occur after a disturbing dream or at any time of crisis. It is customary to tidy one's ancestors' graves as a safeguard against their feeling neglected by the living. In those cases in which death has been presaged, this maneuver is recognized as of little efficacy in averting death. It is merely a general precaution and serves to smooth out the more petty difficulties of everyday life. If a person is desperately worried about his fortune, feeling that he has been marked for death, he will most likely visit a *machi* for advice and assistance. But this is costly, not always successful, and always dangerous. It is not resorted to lightly. Therefore, if the details of the dream or the forecasts do not seem to be borne

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burned and dismembered at the order of a *lonko*. Nowadays they are simply driven from the community, since the people fear reprisal from the Chilean government. At least in one litigation in the Chilean courts, a Mapuche woman was cleared of responsibility for murdering a suspected witch since, the judge held, such action was in conformance with traditional belief.

Animal Forms. The forms which evil forces may assume are multiple and highly varied. Only the most common ones will be discussed here. All are harmful, both to humans and animals, and they almost always suck the blood of their victim. They contaminate the essence of the creature by attacking its substance, and the inevitable result of a successful attack is the loss of the creature's soul and its eventual possession by a sorcerer. The contaminated soul or spirit in turn acquires an insatiable desire for blood. The control and recruitment of evil beings is thus circular and unending.

The more common forms are mainly animals of the field and forest, perhaps with certain distorted characteristics, but there are also a few unnatural forms which combine either parts of two animals or animal and human parts. Among these latter is the *chonchon*, described as a bird with a human head, sometimes said to be the evil incarnation of a practicing sorcerer. *Piwichen* sometimes takes the form of a cock, sometimes a snake with wings, and in either form thrives on human or animal blood. *Waillepen* is described as a large beast of the forest, capable of changing into a sheep or into the combined form of a sheep and cow. It lives in the swampy woods and harms people and animals at the time of birth, causing them to be crippled or blind. The afflicted person, the victim, is sometimes called *waillepen*. Variations on this theme are innumerable.

Actual birds, such as the *pequen, concon, killkill, huelen, wuthwuth, juree, perimo*, and others are harbingers of evil, birds of the night who pass over houses or sing near them, portending misfortune and death. They are of little or no significance if seen in the daytime, provided they do not linger near one's house after sundown. Nor are they greatly feared when heard to sing in the fields or woods at a distance from the house. The day birds of evil omen are the *loika* and *pitrin*. The *wilki, tregul*, and

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witiftu are birds of good omen, especially when they appear and sing near the house. They have no specific powers, but their presence is a good sign.

Arumko **and** ***shompalwe*** **are considered human forms with animal attributes. The former is frog-like or reveals itself as a swamp creature on one occasion, then as an** *anchimallen* **(a small ghost-like figure) on another. There is a certain logic to this apparent contradiction which, however, belongs to a discussion of mythology per se and will not be discussed in this book. The** ***shompalwe*** **is most often described as a young maiden (although sometimes as a handsome young man) who lives in streams and lakes and lures young men into her watery domain. She is thought of as the mistress or owner of fishes.**

Natural Phenomena. ***Cherufe*** **comprise such natural phenomena as fireballs, comets, shooting stars and other aereolites, whirlwinds, stone axes (supposedly descended from the sky), and innumerable animate and inanimate natural objects. The Mapuche believe everything in nature has a spirit of its own. Generally at the behest of sorcerers these objects are sent to inflict illness or death, but they are also conceived of as capable of operating independently of** *kalku* **and causing hardship randomly. Some of them are equated with the Chilean** *duende*, **and there is a tendency to generalize** ***duende*** **to cover all** ***wekufe*** **as well. Fire emanating from** ***cherufe*** **portends death when passing near a house; at a distance it signifies trouble elsewhere.**

Ghosts. **While the Mapuche do not have a generic word to designate "ghost," they describe certain beings with the attributes associated with ghosts, as the word is used in English. Ghosts are evil, by Mapuche definition, and not confused with benevolent departed human spirits, although they are recruited from the ranks of ancestral spirits. There would seem to be an overlap between animistic and pneumatic spirits in the connection and some contradiction in what Mapuche believe about ancestral spirits. The contradiction or overlap lends itself to an interesting explanation. Ghosts are no longer, properly speaking, ancestors, but the contaminated essence of persons who died and were captured by sorcerers. This is especially so of children who died before the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) and received no formal status in Mapuche society. Females do not undergo a**

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ancestral spirits "at rest." *Alwe* serves to characterize wandering spirits of the dead, as in the concept *witranalwe*, a soul or spirit doomed to, or in danger of, earthbound existence, as the captive of a witch. *Pellu* is used almost exclusively for the soul which is felt to linger around the corpse during the days between death and final burial. The term *wesa pellu*, evil spirit, suggests that the soul can become bothersome and even dangerous if it lingers too long.

Encounters with Malevolent Forces

Malevolent forces are everywhere present, but sentient contact with them is seldom direct or at close quarters. When it is, the individual is almost always overwhelmed and dies. People found dead along the road or in the fields and woods are considered the victims of direct and overwhelming contact with the forces of evil. More often, however, persons merely have brushes with the supernatural—narrow escapes—and live to tell of their experience. In dreams one also encounters malevolent spirits who might capture one's soul under the direction of a *kalku*. But there are also beneficent spirits in the dream world, encounters with which are taken as a good omen. The most frequently observed supernatural agents, though, are malevolent night birds, seen or heard near one's house. Their observation, or the mere suspicion of their presence, has an electric effect in the household, and it is on these occasions that the most detailed and hair-raising stories are told about encounters with the supernatural. A few examples follow.

One night we were sitting around the fire, wondering if we should go to bed. Suddenly, the family became quite still and alert and immediately rushed outside the house, some carrying pieces of firewood. They threw sticks at a tree near the dwelling and shouted the name of a bird, *wuthwuth*. Although I ran outside too, I could neither see nor hear the bird. Presently, we all returned to the fireside and my hosts continued to reminisce about supernatural experiences for several hours, postponing sleep until almost dawn. While all encounters with night birds are not as dramatic as this one was, they never fail to invoke a restless and anxious feeling among the people, which

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796 782 brief prayer to *ñenechen* and the generalized ancestors, the hawks of the sun. Then he bites into the heart and passes it to the one or more assisting *ñillatufe* on his right. Each official in turn offers the sheep's heart skyward, utters a short prayer, bites into the heart. The main priest then places the heart in the crotch of the *rewe*. His arms and face are smeared with blood, which he wipes off on the *rewe* pole and on the sacred branches surrounding it. The other officials do the same. A bowl of sheep's blood, collected from the throat incision, is placed at the right side of the altar, and from this bowl the *ñillatufe* occasionally asperses the *rewe* and the ritual fire (*llupe*) which burns near it. Some blood is also burned on the special fire ignited near the *llañi*, or secondary altar. When all this is accomplished, the *ñillatufe* commands that the in-place dancing begin.

Meanwhile, the carcass of the sheep is carried to the *llañi*, where it is skinned and quartered. The sheepskin is then [825] brought back and laid beside the *rewe*. A black skin, which calls [821] for rain, is placed to the left of the altar and a white skin, for sunny weather, is placed under the bowl of blood on the right. Some of the meat from the sheep is burned on the *llañi* fire. The head and feet of the animal are thrown into the fire in most cases and, if the people are not extremely poor in animals, most of the rest of the carcass is also burned. If they are poor in animals, most of the meat is taken off when cooked and then [769] consumed as part of a ritual feast. The smoke which rises to the sky is the morning offering to the ancestral spirits, for which the [776] *llañi* is a special altar. Around the *rewe*, the most concern is for *ñenechen* and the pantheon of minor gods, and the sacrifices are of a somewhat different order.

After the in-place dancing is completed, the *ñillatufe* starts the second stanza of prayer. This time he scatters grain, asking for abundant harvests. The grain is taken from one of several wooden bowls next to the *rewe*. Some of it is thrown on the *llupe* fire. Again, as the smoke rises, a short prayer is offered to [769] *ñenechen* and the pantheon. Ancestors may not even be mentioned at this time. Most attention is given to the god and goddess of abundance, the *kapüka*.

The second in-place dance is performed to the commands of

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was late and disturbances might occur, he considered it would be better not to allow any liquor to be sold until the following day, when all arms might be stored in a safe place, and anybody who felt disposed to get drunk might do so with comfort. To this Casimiro agreed, further assuring me, in the most positive manner, that *he* would keep sober. Whilst we were sitting by the fireside, a bird, exactly resembling our well-known nightjar, flew over our heads, uttering its peculiar grating cry; the Indians all looked startled, asserting that it was a sign of ill luck, and that whenever this bird croaked in the vicinity of an assembly of people some one was sure to fall sick or die. Their superstitious belief in the ill-omened bird received a confirmation, for in the middle of the night, while asleep by the fire, I was roused by Graviel, who, shaking my arm and shouting 'Let us go, let us go!' rushed away from the firelight into the dark night. His father and myself followed him, and after a long chase caught and, with difficulty, mastered him. He was raving mad, struggling violently, and vociferating incoherent nonsense. When the fit had passed off, his exhaustion and prostration were so great that all thought he would die; but he recovered for the time.

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At break of day we were all on the alert; as the evening previously we had been too tired and hungry to observe the scenery, I proceeded to reconnoitre the locality generally. To my great surprise, the head-quarters of Checoque consisted but of four toldos, belonging to the chief and his brother-in-law, the men who had received us having come from distant residences unaccompanied by their wives, and bivouacking, like ourselves, in the open air. The scene of the encampment was a valley running east and west, the western end being apparently shut in by some high mountains, spurs of the Cordillera. A good stream watered this valley, which was everywhere more or less wooded: away to the north-west, about four miles distant, the apple-groves might be seen; these trees had, however, already been

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